COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XVI. No. 25.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1809. [Price 1s.

" I have never wished, my Lords, to conceal my opinion, with respect to the policy of sending a " British army to Spain. I would have assisted them with money; I would have assisted them with " arms: but I assert that, during last summer, there was no prospect that ought to have induced any " reasonable men to send a British army into the *interior* of Spain. I am anxious not to be misunderstood " upon this point. I do not mean to apply my observation to *naval* co-operation, to the mode of sending " fleets with troops on board to annoy particular parts of the coast, to keep the enemy in a constant " state of alarm, and obtain partial advantages that might be of the most essential service."——LORD GRENVILLE's Speech, Jan. 19, 1809.

" My Lords, I do not say that assistance should have been wholly withheld; but we certainly should " not have sent an army where we had not the necessary means to afford supplies to that army, or " effectual assistance to those it was intended to protect: we ought rather to have given our assistance " by money, by arms, and by the well-applied exertions of our naval force on the coast of Spain."—— LORD GREY's Speech, April 21, 1809.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPAIN.——The affairs of this country appear to be fast approaching to a crisis. It is, indeed, impossible, that things can long continue in their present state; nor is it desirable that they should; for, it would be better for the country to be conquered by Buonaparté at once, than that it should any longer be an object of contest between *two masters*. If Spain is not, in case of successful resistance of the French, to be *free*, I have no hesitation in saying, that I would prefer seeing it conquered; because, nothing could possibly be so bad as an event, which the enemies of freedom, here and every where else, would be able to cite *as a proof of an enslaved people being able and willing to defend their country against an invader*. This would be, indeed, a most mischievous example; and, were it to exist; were the people of Spain, *without any change in their system of government having previously taken place*, to drive the Buonapartés out of their country, we should soon hear the hirelings in England openly declaring, that despotism was the only means of protection against a powerful enemy; nor would it be long before they would put *into form* their propositions for the *"suspension of the constitution,"* a thing, which they have frequently hinted at, within the last two years, in a manner too unequivocal to leave their meaning doubtful.——But, as far as we have yet seen, the example of Spain affords no encouragement for the adoption of such measures. There the spirit of resistance to the invader was, at first, strong and active, because the hope of freedom was strong. This spirit died away, as soon as the Supreme Central Junta began to issue their edicts against the liberty of the press, and to put it under regulations after the manner of those established at Calcutta.——From that time the spirit of resistance has, until of late, evidently been upon the decline; and, unless it be revived by the recent changes in the government, and the hopes excited by the promised meeting of the Cortez, there can, I think, be very little doubt, that it will not require many months to establish the throne of Joseph upon solid foundations.——As to the recent defeat of the Spanish army at OCANA, though I believe it to have been much more severe than the Spaniards represent it to have been, I do not think much of it; nor should I think their cause desperate, if we were to hear of *many* such defeats. That *our* army, or rather the *remnant* of it, under my Lord of Talavera de la Reyna della Douro; that this remnant will be compelled to retreat into Portugal, and will be utterly unable to shew its head again in Spain, I have no doubt at all; but, from the first, I never did believe, that *any force which we could send into the country*, would be able to give much *real assistance* to the Spaniards. Look back into history, and you will find, that no nation, of any extent, was ever yet defended against an invader by the aid of foreign troops, unless the people themselves took *the lead* in the defence. When a people sees two foreign armies, hostile to each other, march into their country, they are very apt to fold up their arms and wait, with great composure, for the event; and this must necessarily be the case, when both armies are compelled to plunder the people. It was, and I always thought so, the worst possible thing for us to send *an army into Spain*. At best we could send but a

small numerical force. We could not send an army fit to meet that of Napoleon in the field. We could not make Spain the theatre of a war between us and France, except upon terms greatly disadvantageous to us. We could, in short, have no chance of final success in the field against Buonaparté single-handed; and, if our army acted in *conjunction* with that of the Spaniards, there was all the danger, from a thousand causes, of that *disagreement between the Commanders*, which has not failed to take place at and since the battle of Talavera, and from which disagreement the enemy has derived so much advantage. ——There has been much disguise as to the conduct of the Spanish people towards our troops. The truth, however, is, that our troops have, all along, been looked upon by the Spanish people, with an evil eye. And was not this natural? Is that man worthy of the name of *statesman*, who did not foresee that it would be so? The bigotry of the people of Spain may be matter of *ridicule* with the *philosopher*, but, not so with the *statesman*, especially when he is about to expose an army to the effects of that bigotry. From this cause has arisen a great part of the misfortunes and the miseries of our army. We had not *the hearts* of the people with us; and, our ministers ought to have known, *that this would be the case.* They are answerable for all the miseries which our poor unfortunate countrymen have undergone in Spain; because those miseries have proceeded from the want of wisdom in the employment of our armies. It is in vain, and, indeed, it is *unjust*, to throw the blame upon the *people* of Spain, or upon the *Spanish government*, for the coldness (to say the least of it) with which our army has been treated in Spain. It was in the *nature of things* that it should be so treated; and, the fault is solely in our ministers, who it is now evident, wished to *cut a figure in the field*, and who, as I firmly believe, were the cause of a war being entered upon *for a choice of masters*, instead of suffering the thing to take its own course, in which case, it would have been a war of restored freedom against invading despotism. For these reasons, I do not think, that the retreat of our army ought to be looked upon as a thing at all unfavourable to the cause of Spain, while, I am very certain, that it ought to be looked upon as the best thing that can take place with regard to that army.——We are very apt to speak of the fate of a *nation* in war, as we speak of the fate of a *fortress*; and to look upon the contest as at an end, when a great battle has been gained against the invaded. In the present case, we seem to forget that Spain contains *ten* or *twelve millions* of people, inhabiting one of the strongest countries in the world. Never was such a people, so situated, conquered *against their own consent.* What is the loss of a battle, or of ten battles, if all be sound in the hearts and minds of ten or twelve millions of people, who have, and must have, all the resources of the country in their hands? Did the loss of a battle, or of ten battles, insure the subjugation of *America* or *France?* How often were we told that each of those nations were *done for*; that a few weeks would see them at our feet; and the like? They both triumphed in the end, and so will the Spaniards, if the cause become the cause *of freedom*, but they will fall, and to fall they ought, and I shall rejoice to see them fall, if they continue a contest for a mere choice of masters, and without any view to the restoration of that constitution, which their ancestors, for centuries, enjoyed. The assembling of the *Cortes*, that is to say, the calling together of *the Representatives of the People*, a measure which now seems to be resolved on, and to be actually about to be put in execution; this measure promises fair. And here I cannot help repeating my opinion, my thorough persuasion, that, if the Spanish people, and the *leaders* of the people, had been left to follow their own opinions and feelings, they would, at the outset, have done what they now appear resolved to do. It always appeared very evident to me, that the aid, tendered them by our ministers, was accompanied with a condition that the struggle should be for *king against king*, and not for *restored freedom*, against *invading despotism.* And, indeed, if this had not been the case; or, at least, if our ministers had not been extremely anxious to prevent a war for freedom in Spain, *why should they have sent an army thither?* For, they could not doubt, that, if the war became a war for freedom, *arms* and not *men*, would be wanted in Spain.——What losses; what disgrace; what miseries has not this policy, this bigoted, this inveterate policy created! The poor wretches of our army, who survived the battle of Talavera, having, at the end of that battle, been *two days without provisions*, had served out to them an allowance of *wheat!* Aye, of wheat; of raw wheat, just as it came out

of the sheaf! I speak this upon the authority of those who had to partake of this fare; and I cannot, while putting the fact upon record, help remembering, that this war, that the war which has produced miseries like these, was first proclaimed to the people of England amidst the plaudits, amidst the hiccuping and belching shouts, of the *Turtle Patriots*, assembled at the London Tavern. Yes; it was from that scene of gormandizing; that scene of greediness of purse as well as of maw; it was thence that first issued the yell of war for a choice of masters in Spain? and, from that moment, the *people of England* became cold spectators of what was passing in the Southern Peninsula.—— After what has passed; after so many proofs of the folly of attempting to resist Buonaparté, unless *the people* of Spain be made parties *deeply interested in such resistance*, let us hope, that measures will be taken to make them parties in the contest. Without this, I am persuaded, that nothing at all is to be done; and that the struggle had better be given up at once. At any rate, we should not attempt to have an army *in the heart* of Spain. Flying squadrons round the coast, with detachments of foot-soldiers and artillery on board, alighting here and there as occasion might offer, and not sparing the coast of France at the same time: these are what the Spaniards want to assist them; such is the assistance they have always wanted; and such is the assistance, that the most sensible part of their leaders *have asked for*. It is by no means necessary, that the commanders of these squadrons and detachments should be members of the Society for the Suppression of Vice; that they should have so much conjugal affection as to induce them to take their wives to sea, and, perchance, retain their squadrons in port for some weeks in order to insure the attendance of an able accoucheur; that they should be so pious as to spend in prayer the time that might be devoted to watchings of a far different sort: that they should be full of that kind of religious deference and humility which induces men to leave the enemy wholly to the chastisement of Divine Providence in cases where one's bacon would be in danger. No: I beg leave to repeat, that it is by no means necessary, that the commanders of such squadrons and detachments should belong to this tribe of warriors. I do not give this as *my opinion*: I have heard Spaniards say so. I have heard Spaniards distinctly aver, that they have no notion that a fortress, in the hands of the French, can be taken from them merely by a prayer, however long, or however sanctified by an utterance through the nasal organs; and that, though very partial to Saints themselves, they would much rather see a protestant commander discover temerity in attacking one ship or battery, than in kissing all the four Evangelists.——To about half a dozen Squadrons, such as I have here been speaking of, we should add an abundance of *arms* and *ammunition* and some officers of artillery and engineers, of *tried* merit. To these, perhaps, two or three hundred good *non-commissioned officers* who have seen *service abroad*, might be added. But, no English army *in the country*, who, we may be assured, will, and must, *eat up the country*, as far as they go, and will, of course, always leave discontent and resentment behind them.——The newspapers have, for some time past, represented the Spaniards as being in great distress for the *want of arms*, and this is the more surprising, as we have heard such pompous accounts of the shipments, *on the part of our government*, of arms for Spain. But, to be very plain upon this point, I *know*, as well, perhaps, as any man can know any thing, without being an eye witness of it, that the Spaniards are in the greatest distress for the want of arms, particularly *muskets*.——The following Advertisement, published yesterday, in the London papers, must have *proved* to the public two facts of great consequence at this time, namely, that the Spanish Government have engaged with an *individual* for the shipment of muskets for their use, and that that individual is now actually executing the engagement.

"ARMS FOR THE SPANIARDS.—Having "entered into engagements for the Supply "of Arms for the use of the SUPREME "JUNTA of SPAIN; and this being a time "when the supply may be of most essen- "tial service to that gallant People, this is "to give Notice, That any person or per- "sons having a quantity of good Proof "Musquets, whether that quantity be "large or small, will, upon an applica- "tion to JOHN TUNNO, Esq. of Old Broad- "street, receive his proposals for the pur- "chase of the same on my account; and "upon furnishing the Arms will receive "payment in Cash.

"*Portsmouth, Dec.* 18, 1809.

"A. COCHRANE JOHNSTONE."

It was, I believe, about six months since Mr. Johnstone entered into these engagements, which, not only from considerations of rectitude, but from motives of sincere attachment to the cause of Spain, I know him to be most anxious to fulfil. Here are no loose professions, on his part; but a real offer to purchase arms, for the doing of which he holds the means, which means belong to the Spanish Government.——It is said, that our government have always had objections to leave this business of supplying arms to any individuals, having themselves found it so difficult to *insure the delivery* of them into the proper hands. But, in this case, they may have the best security; for, not only is Mr. Johnstone ready to purchase the arms and pay for them; but to go out to Spain with them in person, to deliver them to the Junta, and to bring back a certificate from the Junta, that he has made such delivery. He, indeed, has already *actually purchased* a considerable quantity of arms; he *has them ready to ship off*; he is ready to enter, if required, into a bond for their being sent to the Junta; and, under these circumstances, there can, I should suppose, be no doubt of his obtaining the necessary permission from our own government. In short, it really appears to me, that our conduct in this case will be to the Spanish Government and the people of Spain a very good criterion of our *sincerity;* for, what must that government and people think of us, what must they think of our regard for their cause, if, when it is notorious that they have not a musket amongst ten thousand men, we will not suffer Mr. Johnstone to send to them, or to carry to them, under all possible security for safe delivery, a quantity of muskets, purchased with their own money? If we will not suffer this, what must be thought of us by the government and the people of Spain? Mr. Johnstone is authorized to purchase, on account of the Spanish Government, *a hundred and fifty thousand* stand of arms; and if the government here has that quantity, or any part of it, to spare, *he is ready to pay for them.* No difficulty, therefore, can possibly exist, if there be arms to be had in this country; and, would it not be scandalous, if, under such circumstances, arms were not permitted to be sent out? ——I have taken for my motto to this sheet, two passages from the speeches of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, upon this subject. Certainly theirs was, as to this matter, the opinion of every man of sense, with whom I ever conversed upon the subject: But, our ministers, instead of sending the Spaniards arms, wherewith to drive out their devourers, have always been sending troops, who, though, under proper orders, they might have aided them, must necessarily assist to *eat them up.* ——It is a poor excuse to say, that the arms, which our ministers have sent out, *have not been safely delivered;* for, *why* have they not? Had we not a fleet to send them out by? Has it cost us no hundreds and hundreds of thousands of pounds for government agents in Spain? Has expence been wanting? But, whatever has been, I repeat, that Mr. Johnstone's offer *removes all risk,* other than that of *the sea,* from which nothing in such a case can be exempt; and, really, if he be not permitted to send or to carry out arms, upon the conditions offered by him, there will be (unless better reasons for a refusal be offered than I have yet heard of) but too much reason to suspect, that the measure of *assembling the Cortes,* and the consequent prospect of *a struggle for freedom* in Spain, has produced, in the minds of our ministers a change by no means favourable to the Spanish cause.

OXFORD CHANCELLORSHIP.——On Thursday, the 14th instant, the election of a Chancellor for the University of Oxford, in the room of the Duke of Portland, deceased, took place; and, upon the close of the poll, the following were the numbers:

For Lord Grenville - - - -	406
Lord Eldon - - - - -	393
Duke of Beaufort - - -	238

Lord Grenville was, of course, duly elected, after a struggle unparalleled in the history of the University.——Looking, as I do, upon these schools for full grown boys to be of no use whatever; having seen so many of the big fellows coming from these schools with such very empty heads; having, in short, no sort of respect for any part of the huge establishment, which I regard as detrimental to morality as well as to genius, and more especially to that independence of mind in political matters, which is now so necessary to the very existence of the country: this being my opinion of the University, regarding it as the mortal enemy of youth, the great destroyer of time and of talent, I should have taken no more notice of an election of a Chancellor of the University, than I should of that of a parish beadle, had it

not, accidentally, been closely and obviously connected with a most interesting and most important question in politics; namely, the question (agitated a fortnight ago in the Register) relative to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, in which question, agreeably to my opinion then expressed, is involved the nation's safety. ——The triumph of Lord Grenville must be pleasing to every just mind, because it is the triumph of reason and truth over the senseless and hypocritical cry of "*No Popery;*" the "*miscreant*" cry of no-popery; that howl of bigotry; that most scandalous, malicious, and seditious yell, for which there can be no pardon in this world. I remember, at the canvas of 1807, telling the late Sir Harry Mildmay, that I looked upon the cry of No-Popery to contain the most wicked sentiment that ever issued from the lips of man; and, I must do him the justice to say, that he did openly disclaim it, though it was trumpeted about the streets of Winchester. Every man of any principle was ashamed of it. Its propagation was left to those only, who were lost to all sense of shame as well as all feelings of conscience.——It is, I see, attempted to be maintained, that the election of Lord Grenville is no proof of the triumph of tolerant principles with regard to the Roman Catholics. This is the sort of reasoning employed for this purpose:—Lord Eldon's and the Duke of Beaufort's principles, as to the question of the Catholics, are the same; and, therefore, the poll presents 631 for *no-popery*, and only 406 against her. But, this is fallacious; for, it is very evident, that the votes for the Duke of Beaufort, *were those which it was impossible to get for Lord Eldon;* the votes of those persons who could not be prevailed upon to side openly with *no-popery*. The Duke being decidedly of the same political party with Lord Eldon, it is not, for one moment, to be believed, that one or the other of them would not have given up his votes, in order to beat Lord Grenville, if that had been practicable; but, the fact is, that the Duke was set up for the purpose of *drawing off votes from Lord Grenville;* for the purpose of *furnishing a candidate for those who could not be prevailed upon to vote for Lord Eldon*. So that, when viewed in the true light, the triumph of tolerant principles over hypocrisy and bigotry is much greater than, at first sight, it would appear to be.——The hirelings are beginning their former cant about "*troubling the conscience of the king in his old age,*" than which it is, in my mind, impossible to form an idea of any thing more base, or more really disloyal, more directly tending to throw odium upon the character of the king. I have, in the article of the 9th instant, observed, that the king has given his consent freely to the granting of those privileges to *foreign* Catholics in his service, which it is asked to grant to his Catholic *subjects*. How, then, can *conscience* oppose itself to the latter? *Policy* possibly may oppose it. I am ready to prove, and, indeed, I *have* proved, that sound policy does not oppose it. But this question the hypocritical hirelings save us the trouble of discussing, by pretending that there exists an obstacle in the scruples of the king's *conscience*. In this case, however, as in all others, where they have an opportunity, the pretended *friends* of the king shew themselves to be, in reality, his very worst enemies; the worst enemies he or his family can have, by pushing him forward, by using his name, by exposing him to bear whatever they think would fall with dangerous weight upon themselves.——I do wish, that His Majesty could be prevailed upon to read, in the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY, Vol. IV, page 1268, MR. BOOTH's Speech upon the subject of "*court favourites.*" He would there see what were the sentiments of English Gentlemen, in the reign of Charles the Second, as to that description of persons, who *then* took to themselves the exclusive appellation of "*King's Friends;*" and who then had the impudence to attempt to ride off upon the shoulders of their master. His Majesty would there see what sort of men those were, who, while they affected to brand all those with disloyalty who were not of their own faction, were laying the sure foundations of the expulsion of the family of Stuart.—— There can, in my opinion, be nothing so injurious to the king as this plea, made use of by his pretended "friends," of his *scruples of conscience*. When we alledge, that the measure of Catholic claims is *just*, that it is not only just but *expedient*, that it is necessary to the *happiness of his people*, and to the *safety of his dominions* against the meditated attacks of a most powerful enemy; when we make these allegations and produce arguments in support of them, what is the answer of these pretended "king's friends"? Why, that the king is *very aged*, and that we ought not to war against his *scruples of conscience!* Can any thing be more base than this? Can any

thing be more unfriendly? Can any thing be more cruel? Is not the *conclusion*, to which it points, too clear not to be disguised? Is not the *wish* that it must, if believed, suggest, too manifest not to be at once perceived? Is it not, in fact, saying to the people: "well, it is a sorrowful "thing, but the day must come *when those* "*scruples will no longer be a bar to your hap-*"*piness and your safety?*" If any thing in the world can be more base than this, if any thing more mischievous can be thought of by the bitterest enemy of kingly government, I know not how to calculate upon the most ordinary operations of the human mind. Therefore, have I never, in my political life, felt indignation so great against any description of politicians, as against those, who, to answer their own selfish purposes, to screen themselves against the force of reason and of truth, have had the shameless hypocrisy to set up this plea, the merciless perfidy thus to attempt to save their own reputation, by thrusting forward the name of the king; by falsely pretending that it was the king alone from whom arose the opposition to a measure, the *necessity* of which, to the happiness and safety of the people, they attempted not to deny.——These pretended "king's friends" have, however, now received, in the preference which the University have given to Lord Grenville before Lord Eldon, a check which they will find it difficult, with all their address, to overcome. Even their cunning, their craft, their consummate skill in the arts of disguising and deceiving, will hardly now serve their turn.——The victory of *Lord Grenville* is nothing to me: it is the victory of sense over folly, of piety over cant, of toleration over intolerance, of sincerity over hypocrisy, of truth over falshood; this is the victory at which I rejoice. The hypocrites of the no-popery faction obtained their object for a while; they deceived the nation with their cry of *no-popery*; they were hugging themselves in the success of their fraudulent dealings, when, from that quarter, whence, of all others, they least expected it, they receive undeniable proof that the nation has discovered the cheat, and that they are seen in their true colours. So true it is, as MILTON observes, in his Treatise upon the Liberty of the Press, that if you leave truth to combat, unshackled, against falshood, the latter, though she may make head for a while, is sure, in the end, to be subdued.——The nation has had time to reflect. The experience of two years, and especially the great dangers to which the country must now be exposed by an adherence to the principles of *no-popery*, have brought people to their senses. The opinion of the *nation* is; the *wish* of the nation is, *that the Catholic claims should be granted*; and that wish has been now clearly expressed at Oxford.——It is not a triumph over *Lord Eldon* at which I rejoice. On the contrary, in many respects I like him better than his rival. I do not look upon the triumph over him, personally, as being of any consequence at all. It is the triumph over the principles of those who voted for him, and who, whether truly or not, looked upon him as the advocate of intolerance; it is this triumph, at which I rejoice.——And in this respect, say the hirelings what they will, the triumph is complete. Not only was Lord Eldon one of the ministry; not only was the interest of the ministry with him; not only was there the general weight and power of government on his side, but, he, being Lord Chancellor, had, in his own absolute gift, no small part of the whole of the Church preferment. So that, as far as the temptations of *patronage* and of *interest* could go, a more formidable candidate could not have been opposed to Lord Grenville, who was out of place, and who has never been in any place, except for about fifteen months, which gave him the power of bestowing preferment in the Church.——The COURIER news-paper, and the other hired prints, are outrageous in the invectives against the University and against the Clergy in general, upon this occasion, whom, if they do not call them knaves, they scruple not to bestow upon them every epithet and appellation descriptive of a want of intellect. Now, it appears to me, that one may, at any rate, give the clergy credit for the possession of *mere common sense*; and certain I am that it required nothing more to make them act as a majority of them have done in this case. At other seasons, to rail against the Catholics might be good pastime; but, the question now is whether the Catholics shall have their just claims granted them, or whether by obstinately rejecting those claims, the whole kingdom, and *the Church*, of course, shall be exposed to danger so imminent, as to leave nothing more than a bare *chance* of escape.——This is now the question, and the Clergy in general appear to have the sense to perceive, that it is their interest as well as their duty to

prefer the safety of the country to the gratification of the insolent ambition of a set of upstart political intriguers.

MR. WARDLE.——In my last, I took notice of the result of the Trial in the Court of King's Bench, in which this gentleman was the Plaintiff against Mrs. Clarke and her upholsterers.——I was then fully convinced, that the *integrity* of Mr. Wardle remained unimpeached, and every thing which has since come to my knowledge, confirms me in that conviction. It was, therefore, with great pleasure, that I perceived, that a meeting had been held at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of devising the means of raising a fund to indemnify Mr. Wardle for the losses and expences to which he has been exposed, *in consequence of his having succeeded in his endeavours to serve the public.*——Before I proceed any further, I will insert, for the purpose of having them upon record, the Resolutions, passed by the meeting abovementioned.

"At a Meeting convened by Adver-
"tisement in the Public Papers, held at
"the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the
"Strand, on Monday, the 13th day of
"December, 1809.

"PHILIP MALIET, Esq. in the Chair.

"It was Resolved unanimously,

"That G. L. Wardle, Esq. by bringing
"the Inquiry, respecting "the late Com-
"mander-in-Chief, before the Commons'
"House of Parliament, and by the manly,
"firm, and independent manner in which
"he conducted it, amidst great dis-
"couragements, undaunted by threats of
"infamy, and heavy responsibility, equal-
"ly unconnected with, and unsupported
"by party," and for which he received
"the thanks of upwards of fifty counties,
"cities, boroughs, and towns, has merited
"the gratitude of his fellow citizens.

"That G. L. Wardle, Esq. in his en-
"deavours to obtain substantial justice
"for the People of England, has, in ad-
"dition to the anxiety caused by an un-
"principled and harrassing opposition,
"sustained many heavy expences.

"That G. L. Wardle, Esq. besides ha-
"zarding his private fortune, has given
"numerous proofs of the purity of the
"motives by which he has been actuated,
"and is now, more than ever, entitled
"to the praise and support of every ho-
"nest and independent man.

"That G. L. Wardle, Esq. having
"honourably persevered in performing
"his part towards the People, this Meet-
"ing declare it to be their bounden duty
"to call upon the public to indemnify him
"against all losses, charges, and expen-
"ces, he may have incurred, or be liable
"to, in consequence thereof.

"That a Subscription for this purpose
"be immediately entered into.

"That the following Gentlemen be re-
"quested to form a Committee (with
"power to add to their number) to manage
"the Subscription, which they are di-
"rected to pay, from time to time, into
"the hands of Messrs. Drummond,
"Bankers, in the name and for the use of
"Col. Wardle, viz. Messrs. Philip Mallet,
"Chairman; Timothy Brown, Samuel
"Brooks, John Cartwright, William Cob-
"bett, Henry Clifford, the Rev. Mr.
"Draper, Samuel Favell, William Frend,
"Alderman Goodbehere, James Griffiths,
"John Hoppe, Edward Langley, Samuel
"Miller, John Pook, William Sturch,
"John Slater, Henry Hare Townshend,
"Mr. Sheriff Wood, Robert Waithman,
"and Andrew Wilson."

The king has not, in his gift, any honour that I should value half so much as I do the honour of having my name in this list; and I only regret, that, from my local situation, it will be impossible for me to make exertions proportioned to my wishes.——As to the *principle* of these Resolutions, nothing can be more just, or wise. It is, indeed, a principle dictated by self-preservation. What sums do we see expended in rewards to those who serve OTHERS? and shall we not have the sense, the very plain common sense, to stand by and to uphold, or, at least, to compensate, the man who has risked, and who has actually lost so much in serving us? Mr. GRATTAN and the younger Mr. BURKE received, each of them, a large sum of money for their exertions in behalf of the Irish Catholics. Mr. Wardle would accept of no such thing. But, it is our duty to see, that he does not *lose* by his exertions in our behalf; it is our duty to see, that he and his family bear not the marks of public ingratitude; of the ingratitude of those, who have so unequivocally acknowledged their obligations to him.——Our enemies never fail to stand by those who *serve them*, and hence it is that they find so many to serve them; hence it is that they meet with so much courage in their adherents, who, let what else will happen, are sure to be, at the very least, amply indemnified for all their labour and their loss.——The sin of Mr.

Wardle is, that he has exposed offences against the people; that he has brought to light what no man else ever attempted to bring to light; that has made a rent in the veil, which covered so many iniquities: this is his sin, and a sin, which, in the eyes of our enemies, is far greater than all the sins forbidden in the decalogue. I give it as my sincere opinion, that they would sooner forgive him for murdering their own mothers, for sticking a dagger into the breasts whence they had drawn the first means of supporting life, than for having done what he has done. I give this as my firm persuasion.——We need wonder, therefore, at no exertions that have been made against him by these our enemies, of whose *means* of mischief we have a pretty satisfactory criterion in the fact (which now appears to be undoubted) that *ten thousand pounds sterling together with an annuity of* 400*l. a year with remainder to her children,* was given to Mrs. Clarke for putting a stop to the printing of a book which she had in the press last spring. *What,* I leave the reader to judge, must have been the nature of this book; what sort of persons must those have been, who could use such means; and, at what means would they stick for the ruin of Mr. Wardle?——Mr. Wardle is blamed for his having got into these legal disputes, and *justly* blamed too; but, *who* is *always* upon his guard? Nothing could our enemies wish for more than to see him entangle himself in the meshes of the law. It was precisely what they must have wished, and especially to see him plunging about, as if his desire had been to destroy himself. But, even in the *kind* of his indiscretion there is a strong presumptive proof of his consciousness of being right; because, a man who had felt conscious of being wrong would never have *so persevered.*——In the whole of his proceedings, after the first trial, Mr. Wardle has been *indiscreet,* and especially in writing, without taking a moment's time to reflect, the Letter which appeared in the Statesman of the evening of the trial. But, your men who *never do any thing wrong* are good for nothing. You cannot have qualities such as those, which induced Mr. Wardle to bring forward, and persevere in, the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York; you cannot have such qualities without having those occasional indiscretions, which seldom, or never, fail to accompany them.——There is nobody; there is not a soul in the country, who thinks that Mr. Wardle has done any thing dishonourable. It is the *laugh;* that is what he has to withstand, and that is the fruit of his indiscretion. But, we whom he has so effectually served; for whom he has done more than any other man ever did; we are bound to use our utmost endeavours to prevent him from suffering from that cause. To him we owe the *Darling Letters,* the History of O'Meara and the *celestial unction;* to him we owe the history of Donovan, French, Sandon and Parson Williams; to him we owe Clavering's letters and confinement in Newgate; to him we owe the neat little *Note to Tonyn,* including the conduct of Hamilton, Sandon, Mr. Perceval and Mr. Adam, respecting that Note; to him we owe Mrs. Clarke's letters to Sandon, asking this respectable personage *to "get her votes for "Pitt"* in the House of Commons; to him we owe the exposure of the tendered bribe of the Rev. Mr. Beazley, who had written a *no-popery* pamphlet, and of whom, by the bye, *I have heard nothing since,* though the case was much worse than that of the Tinman; to him we owe the discoveries about the sale of Writerships and Cadetships, which though going on for years, and declared to be illegal and very mischievous, had never before been brought to light; to him we owe the discoveries, relative to the swapping and selling of offices and seats in parliament, and the knowledge of all about Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding and Lord Clancarty; to him we owe, and we shall always owe, that upon these points, the House of Commons was PUT TO THE TEST; that that House was WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE. To Mr. Wardle we owe all this, and a great deal more; and, therefore, whatever may have been his indiscretion in entangling himself in the nets of the law, it is our duty to show, by acts as well as by words, that we were not unworthy of the exertions which he made, and *successfully* made, to serve us. What he did for us, let it be well observed and remembered, NOTHING CAN UNDO. No: not even a law to burn all the books and records in existence; unless, at the same time, our *memories* could be destroyed as far as related to the discoveries he made, or caused to be made. To him we owe a stock of information, which has created a *new mind* in the country; to him we owe, not the *possession* of Mrs. Clarke's book (that is yet *to come*), but we owe her

having written a book, which was suppressed at the expence of *ten thousand pounds*, cash upon the nail; and to him we owe *the well-founded suspicions* that arise from this undoubted fact. We owe him all this. We owe him more than any other man, and than all other men put together, and, if we do not stand by him, we shall justly be considered, in future, as unworthy of any exertions being made in our favour, and richly deserving of all those political evils, of which we now so bitterly and so justly complain.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE AUTHOR OF

"An Impartial Examination of Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform."

Enfield, 17th Dec. 1809.

Sir;—I have read your letter to me, in the Political Register of yesterday. It is in reply to one of mine to you, inserted in the same Register on the 14th of October. What, Sir, were the objects of that letter? to "convince you that, in one very im-"portant particular, you have not only "misconceived the meaning of the baro-"net, but have likewise misunderstood a "fundamental principle of the English "Constitution."—As your letter, Sir, although in reply to mine, attempts not an answer to these objections to your book, I certainly am not called upon to controvert your present reasoning. I am not now to learn, that those who look not for a foundation of political reasoning, to the principles of free government, or of our constitution, can as fluently talk about the expediency of "triennial parliaments," as on the advantage of placemen in the House of Commons, or any other deviation from principle. Instead of three columns of Mr. Cobbett's Register, you might, for aught that I can see to the contrary, have written three volumes in folio on the same topic, and still have been as wide of the truth, as you now appear to me to be.—It was to guard the question against this rambling mode of discussion, that I had carefully explained the principle of the English Constitution on the point in question, as well as given a demonstration of the principle of free government, with which that constitution on this point is in strict unison. I must therefore needs think, that no one is entitled to call upon me to attend to arguments inconsistent with these principles, until he have first proved to me that on the principles themselves I am in error. For it is a maxim that "against him who "denies (or regards not) principles, dis-"pute is useless."—As you admit, Sir, you are "almost at the commencement of "your political career," and appear desirous of arriving at truth, I cannot but recommend it to you, to be above all things attentive to fundamental principles. Unless you build upon these, your superstructure, how beautiful soever it may be in your own imagination, will have neither stability, nor use. As you have not even ventured to question the correctness of my demonstration, from which demonstration it follows, as a necessary conclusion, that a "triennial parliament" would be "a gross violation of the constitution," I cannot, I confess, understand, how you are authorized in saying that notwithstanding what I have urged, you are still "the unshaken advocate of Triennial Parliaments."—But, Sir, let us return to the point from whence we set out. Your book assumes that "triennial parliaments" make a part of Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform." To deny the fact, is a main object of my letter to you. On this point you make no answer. I was warranted in my denial of this assumed fact, on two grounds. 1st, Sir Francis proposes that parliaments be brought back to a "constitutional duration," and I demonstrate that such a duration cannot exceed one year. 2nd, It happened to me to know, that such is the view of Sir Francis himself on the point in question; for I was with him at the time he wrote down the propositions which, in the course of a day or two afterwards, he moved in parliament; on which occasion, he took from its shelf a book, to show me high constitutional authority for the opinion he entertained, on what was the "constitutional duration" of parliaments; from which authority it appeared, that a parliament of more than one year's duration could not be constitutional.—You say that "annual "parliaments are conformable to the spi-"rit of our ancient laws. But the ques-"tion rests not here. The ancient laws "which compose the British Constitution "possess no intrinsic, or mystical excel-"lence, they are but a means to an end, "they are valuable only as they conduce "to human happiness."—This short passage appears to be crowded with misconceptions and errors. 1st, No "laws" either antient or modern "compose the British Constitution," or any "constitu-

tion." 2d, My references had been to the English Constitution. 3d, A "British Constitution," is a non-entity, which never had existence. England and Scotland are to this day governed by systems of laws radically different one from the other; as following of course from different constitutions. We may recollect, when Lord Melville threatened us with the introduction into England, of the constitution and law of Scotland, as better adapted to the arbitrary purposes of himself and the late Mr. Pitt. 4th, My references to the Statutes of the 4th & 36th of Edw. III. were not as "composing" the constitution; but merely as evidences of what, in those days, our ancestors conceived the constitution to be touching the "duration" of parliaments. 5th, Our ancestors of that period had no conception of what is now meant, when we speak of "annual parliaments."—A moderate degree of attention to my letter should seem to have been sufficient for preventing such errors as these.—When you denied my proposition that "Parliamentary Representation and "Political Liberty are convertible terms," I was prepared to discover that I had been mistaken, and equally prepared on such a discovery to have confessed my error: but the effect of your remarks, instead of shaking that opinion, have confirmed me in it.—You observe that "Parliamentary Re- "presentation may be conceived to exist, "in the utmost perfection, where liberty "is infringed by a thousand unnecessary "institutions."—Had you indeed proved this, it would not only have abated my ardour as a parliamentary reformer, but it would have convinced me, that I had for thirty years been pursuing a shadow. Now, Sir, for your proof—"In a country, "where suffrage should be universal, and "elections annual, the predominant reli- "gious sect might (and in an age of bi- "gotry certainly would) load their fellow "citizens of an opposite persuasion with "the most oppressive exclusions and in- "quisitorial pains."—Stating this situation of things, as your idea of representation "in the utmost perfection," and as what you conceive might possibly be the effect of it, does it amount to any thing else than this, that, under such a state of representation, the majority of the nation, if they had any disputes, would prevail in the legislature over the minority? and is not this political liberty "in the utmost per- "fection?" It is no part of the definition of liberty, that a nation shall not be capable of folly.—Under such a system of "representation in the utmost perfection," or, as I should say, political liberty in the utmost perfection, (for I still hold them to be convertible terms) it is not unreasonable to suppose, that all those "institu- "tutions" which embitter one religious sect against another, would soon be brought into such a complete subjection to the civil state, as to produce, not "toleration," but real religious liberty; so that every citizen should be perfectly free to worship God according to his own creed, without any persons feeling an interest in persecuting him. Is not this the case in America at this day? And is it not the natural effect of a representation nearer to perfection than any nation ever before practically enjoyed; not excepting that from which they derived the representative parts of their constitutions?——Remember, Sir, I am endeavouring to shew what is "politi- "cal liberty;" not what use men will, or will not, make of that liberty. And as I do not accede to your definition of political liberty, which is not definite enough to please me, and very inferior to what you will find given by Doctor Price, so I am as little inclined to resort to the means you seem to have discovered, for correcting those evils which you are so apprehensive must arise from "Representation in "the utmost perfection."—Having pointed out, specified particular evils, as what in such a state of society, might be naturally expected, you say, "On the contrary, in "an absolute monarchy, a prince of patri- "otic feelings, and enlightened under- "standing, might establish perfect tolera- "tion, and abolish most of those regula- "tions, which, without benefiting the pub- "lic, better the exertions of individual "man. Thus we see that oppression may "exist in conjunction with the most per- "fect system of representation, and that a "considerable share of liberty may ob- "tain where representation is unknown." —Here, Sir, are glaring inconsistencies, into which you could not have fallen, had you been acquainted with the principles of the science you are writing upon, or, in other words, had you acquired accurate notions of liberty; the most concise definition of which, whether it relate to a state, or to an individual citizen, is, that it is the power of self-government. Is it not self-evident, that in a state which enjoys "representation in the utmost per- "fection," there must reside "in the ut- "most perfection" self-government, or

liberty? And is it not equally self-evident, that in "an absolute monarchy," which in terms describes a government at the will of one man, or a perfect despotism, there can be no "liberty" whatever?—A state, or an individual man, possessing self-government, or liberty, may doubtless make an ill use of it; but, be such folly what it may, I do not apprehend that the proper corrective is a deprivation of liberty; for that very deprivation must either abridge, or destroy, the power of amendment, when reason or experience shall have convinced the state or the individual of its or his error. And as to your palpable inconsistency, in supposing "that "a considerable share of liberty may ob-"tain where representation is unknown;" it arises from your mistaking the protection, or favour, or indulgence of a despot, who can withdraw the same at any moment, for liberty, which is the power of self-government, independent of the prince or magistrate.—Having thus, Sir, shewn that on neither of the topics, which were the objects of my former letter to you, have you given the smallest answer; and that I cannot discover any principles of free government, or of the English Constitution, from which you argue in favour of "triennial parliaments," which therefore appear to me a superstructure without a foundation, that alone seems to be a very sufficient reason for my not replying to your arguments in favour of them, after what I have already advanced against them in my former letter.—I once, Sir, had put into my hands by a friend, a very bulky volume of Swedenbourg's Works, in order to convert me to the baron's opinions in religion; but finding in the first page, the fancies which he had taken for his foundations, and being convinced of their fallacy, I excused myself from reading farther, as I was not in quest of amusement, but truth. I have, however, read your letter to the end; and having already shewn how much I differ from you in fundamentals, it would be idle to multiply words in controverting your conclusions. ——I shall only shortly observe, that your arguments for preferring, in the teeth of demonstration as to the principle, triennial to annual parliaments, appear to me to be the effect, rather of errors derived from an observation of corrupt and erroneous practice, than of a contemplation of the nature of election properly regulated. If we are not to be guided by the principles of reason, and the laws of nature, in vain hath the Deity furnished us with either moral or intellectual guides.—I believe, Sir, that where political liberty shall be enjoyed "in the utmost perfec-"tion," there will "wisdom" and "virtue," "talent" and "integrity," be most likely to find their way into a representative legislature; and to think otherwise, appears to me an unintentional satire on the Author of Nature.—Still, Sir, respecting your endeavours to promote the liberties of your country, I remain your obedient servant, JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

HIGH PRICES.

SIR; In the Supplement to No. 18. of Vol. xvi, of your Register, is a Letter on the High Price of Provisions; on which, with your permission, I will make a few remarks. The writer begins by deploring the effect of the Duke of Portland's Proclamation in 1799; by which the miseries of the people were greatly aggravated; insomuch that the advance of price was 125 per cent., when the real deficiency of crop was only 25 per cent. With this fact before him, he proceeds to give us the information contained in the following paragraph. "The recent and rapid ad-"vanced price of corn, must either be or "be not the measure of the scantiness of "crop, to which it is ascribable. If it be "the measure of it, then the scarcity "amounts to one third of last year's crop "for the price has advanced or will soon "advance in that proportion to last year's "price. And if it be not the measure of "it, then it is not the corn that has ad-"vanced a third in price, but the money "that has retreated back to two thirds of "its last year's exchangeable value." A set of "long faced farmers with scanty "samples," "filching dealers and greedy "bankers," have performed this wonder in the space of six short weeks; all the rag merchants and paper makers in the united kingdom, having been put in requisition.—I think it right however to inform this gentleman, (what I believe no other person who has thought on the subject need be told), that an apprehension of scarcity, in articles of the first necessity, enhances the demand, and consequently the price, much beyond the occasion: That the produce of our own harvest, is, on an average of years, barely sufficient to feed us; therefore if our crop fall, in any degree, short of the average, we must depend, in that degree, on other countries for our

subsistence. Now, if the public have let in a notion that the crop of this year is somewhat below par, that notion, joined to another on the uncertainty of a foreign supply, may account for the advance in price, without supposing a sudden exacerbation of avarice in the farmers, dealers and bankers. A circumstance, that, I am happy to assure your correspondent, has not occurred within my observation, which is pretty extensive among those classes of the community.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c. M. B.

Dec. 10, 1809.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

City of London Address, *Dec.* 20, 1809.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble, loyal, and dutiful Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign;

We your Majesty's most faithful, loyal, and dutiful subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, most humbly approach your Majesty's sacred person, in the perfect assurance that your Majesty will graciously condescend to receive the suggestions of your faithful and loyal Citizens, on subjects which seriously and deeply affect their interests, in common with the rest of your Majesty's people.

We have witnessed with deep regret the disastrous failure of the late Expedition, as the magnitude of its equipment had raised the just hopes and expectations of the Country to some permanent benefit.

And we cannot avoid expressing to your Majesty the sorrow and indignation with which we are affected, by the unhappy dissensions that have prevailed among your Majesty's Ministers, and our fears that such dissensions may prove eminently prejudicial to the best interests of the Nation.

Your Majesty's faithful Citizens, actuated by loyal attachment to your Sacred Person and Illustrious House, and solicitous for the honour of your Majesty's arms and the dignity and solidity of your Majesty's Councils, are deeply impressed with the necessity of an early and strict Inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late Expedition, therefore pray your Majesty will direct Inquiry to be forthwith instituted, in order to ascertain the causes which have occasioned it.

Signed by Order of Court,

Henry Woodthorpe.

To which Address and Petition His Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following Answer:—

I thank you for your expressions of duty and attachment to me and to my Family.—The recent Expedition to the Scheldt was directed to several objects of great importance to the interests of my Allies, and to the security of my dominions.—I regret, that of these objects a part only has been accomplished.—I have not judged it to be necessary to direct any Military Inquiry into the Conduct of my Commanders by Sea or Land in this conjoint Service.—It will be for my Parliament, in their wisdom, to ask for such information, or to take such measures upon this subject as they shall judge most conducive to the public good.

Spain.—Manifesto, *fixing the days when the* General Cortes *of the Spanish Monarchy are to be convoked and held; Dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Oct.* 28, 1809.—*(Concluded from p.* 960.*)*

- - - - - - - - - - - - These forces have since fought, it is true, with ill success, but always with gallantry and glory. The creation, the reparation, and the subsistance of these armies have more than absorbed the considerable supplies which have been sent us by our brethren in America. We have maintained in the free Provinces unity, order and justice, and in those occupied by the enemy we have exerted our endeavours to preserve, though secretly, the fire of patriotism and the bounds of loyalty. We have vindicated the national honour and independence in the most complicated and difficult diplomatic negociations; and we have made head against adversity, without suffering ourselves to despair, ever trusting that we should overcome it by our constancy. We have, without doubt, committed errors, and we would willingly, were it possible, redeem them with our blood: but in the confusion of events, among the mountains of difficulties which surrounded us, who could be certain of always being in the right? Could we be responsible because one body of troops wanted valour, and another confidence; because one General

has less prudence, and another less good fortune? Much, Spaniards, is to be attributed to our inexperience, much to circumstances, but nothing to our intention. That ever has been to deliver our unfortunate King from slavery, and preserve to him a throne for which the Spanish people have made such sacrifices, and to maintain it free, independent and happy. We have, from the time of our institution, promised him a country; we have decreed the abolition of arbitrary power, from the time we announced the re-establishment of our Cortes. Such is, Spaniards, the use we have made of the unlimited power and authority confided to us; and when your wisdom shall have established the basis and form of Government most proper for the independence and good of the State, we will resign the authority into the hands you shall point out, contented with the glory of having given to the Spaniards the dignity of a nation legitimately constituted. May this solemn and magnificent assembly be productive of efficacious means, energy, and fortune; may it be an immense inextinguishable volcano, from which may flow torrents of patriotism to revivify every part of this vast monarchy, to inflame all minds with that sublime enthusiasm which produces the safety and glory of nations, and the despair of tyrants; and yourselves, noble Fathers of the country, to the elevation of your high duties, and Spain exalted with you to an equally brilliant destiny, shall see returned into her bosom for her happiness, Ferdinand 7th, and his unfortunate family; shall see her sons enter on the path of prosperity and glory which they ought henceforth to pursue, and receive the crown of the sublime and almost divine efforts which they are making.

Marquis of Astorga, President.
Pedro de Rivero, Sec.-Gen.

France.—*Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, at the opening of the meeting of the Legislative Body. Dec.* 3, 1809.

Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legislative Body.—Since your last Session I have reduced Arragon and Castile to submission, and driven from Madrid the fallacious Government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and termination of this fourth Punic War. Accustomed to the devotedness and courage of my armies, I must nevertheless, under these circumstances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my soldiers of Germany have given me.—The genius of France conducted the English army—it has terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues distant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived—I owe particular thanks to the Citizens of the Departments of the Pas de Calais and the North. Frenchmen! Every one that shall oppose you shall be conquered and reduced to submission. Your grandeur shall be increased by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and prosperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the Ancients. —I have united Tuscany to the Empire. The Tuscans were worthy of it by the mildness of their character, by the attachment their ancestors have always shewn us, and by the services they have rendered to European civilization.—History pointed out to me the conduct I ought to pursue towards Rome: the Popes, become Sovereigns of part of Italy, have constantly shewn themselves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninsula—they have employed their spiritual power to injure it—It was then demonstrated to me that the spiritual influence exercised in my States by a foreign Sovereign, was contrary to the independence of France, to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of the pastors, I could not conciliate these grand interests but by annulling the donative of the French Emperors my predecessors, and by uniting the Roman States to France.—By the Treaty of Vienna, all the Kings, and Sovereigns my allies, who have given me so many proofs of the constancy of their friendship, have acquired and shall acquire a fresh increase of territory.—The Illyrian Provinces stretch the frontiers of my great Empire to the Save. Contiguous to the Empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a situation to watch over the first interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraw herself from the fatal in-

fluence of England. I shall know how to punish her, if she suffer herself to be governed by cunning and perfidious counsels. —I have wished to give the Swiss Nation a new proof of my esteem, by annexing to my titles that of their Mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneasiness endeavoured to be spread among that brave people.—Holland, placed between England and France, is equally bruised by them. Yet she is the *debouché* of the principal arteries of my empire.—Changes will become necessary; the safety of my frontiers, and the well understood interests of the two countries, imperiously require them.—Sweden has lost, by her alliance with England, after a disastrous war, the finest and most important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wise Prince that governs her now had ascended the throne some years sooner? This example proves anew to kings that the alliance of England is the surest presage of ruin.—My ally and friend, the Emperor of Russia, has united to his vast empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Gallicia.—I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that Empire. My sentiments for its illustrious Sovereign are in unison with my policy. —When I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil; of moderation, order, and morality over civil war, anarchy and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of the Spains.—Gentlemen Deputies of Departments to the Legislative Body—I have directed my Minister of the Interior to lay before you the history of the legislation, of the administration, and of the finances of the year just expired; you will see that all the ideas I had conceived for the amelioration of my people, have been followed with the greatest activity—that in Paris, as in the most distant parts of my empire, the war has not produced any delay in the public works. The Members of my Council of State will submit to you different projects of law, and especially the law upon the Finances; you will see in it their prosperous condition. I demand of my people no new sacrifice, though circumstances have obliged me to double my military means.

FLUSHING.—*Sentence against General Monnet.*

Dec. 9.—The Council of Inquiry appointed by his Majesty the Emperor and King, convened by his Excellency Count De Huneburgh, Minister at War, in obedience to his Majesty's Orders, dated Schoenbrunn, Sept. 7, 1809, and assembled at the General Military Depot, closed on the 25th of last month its deliberations, and pronounced the following Sentence:—That General Monnet, contrary to his duty, did not fulfil the orders of his Imperial Majesty, in case of his being pressed hard by the enemy, to cut the dykes rather than surrender.—That he surrendered the fortress at a time when it had only sustained a bombardment of thirty-six hours, when the garrison was still composed of more than 4,000 men, when no breach was made in the rampart, and the enemy was yet more than 800 metres distant from the fortress, and when our troops were yet in possession of the outworks, and when, consequently, the place was not really besieged.—That the General is therefore guilty of gross misconduct, which cannot be attributed to any other motive than cowardice and treason. And the Council declares, moreover, that the General is guilty of extortion and embezzlement, since it appears in evidence, that he did receive, or caused to be received, for his own private benefit and use, from the year 1803 to the year 1806, the sum of ten Dutch stivers, or twenty sous Tournois for each half ankar Geneva which was exported.

(Signed) Count RAMPON.
Count d'ALZVELLE, Vice-Ad.
HERENOUD.
Counts SONGER & BASSON.

The above Sentence was confirmed by the Emperor and King on the 6th instant, and ordered to be transmitted to the Minister at War, for the purpose of being carried into execution against the delinquent.

BATTLE OF OCANA.—*Report from the Duke of Dalmatia to his Excellency the Minister at War; dated Das Barrias, Nov.* 19, 1809.

The troops of his Imperial Majesty have gained a signal victory. The battle was fought in the vicinity of Ocana, where the insurgents had assembled a force of 55,000 men, 700 of whom were horse, with

a numerous park of artillery. The 4th army joined by the 5th under the orders of Marshal Duke of Treviso, the division of dragoons commanded by Gen. Milhaud, the division of light horse under the command of Gen. Beauryant, and the brigade of light horse of Gen. Paris, the Royal Guards, and two battalions of Spanish troops, marched yesterday to meet the enemy, who, according to every intelligence received, had taken post at Ocana. About nine o'clock this morning our advanced parties came in sight of the enemy's army. At eleven o'clock the action commenced, and in two hours it was decided in our favour. The Spaniards, encouraged by their superiority in numbers, made a vigorous resistance; but they were attacked with such irresistible valour by our troops, that they soon gave way; their position was carried, and they were thrown into the utmost confusion. All their artillery and field equipage fell into our hands; more than 50 pieces of cannon have already been brought in, 15 stand of colours, and numerous prisoners have been taken, among whom are 3 Generals, 6 Colonels, and 700 inferior officers. The ground is covered with the slain, and with more than 40,000 muskets. They who escaped took to flight, without arms, and without knowing whither to direct their steps. This morning the King gave the command of the cavalry to General Sebastiani, and the admirable manner in which he manœuvred and made his charges, fully justified his Majesty's choice. General Milhaud also greatly distinguished himself; and all the different commanders of horse displayed the utmost intrepidity and valour. The Marshal Duke of Treviso commanded the infantry of the 4th and 5th corps; it is utterly impossible to behave in a more gallant manner than he did. He received a contusion in the arm; but this did not prevent him from continuing the command. Our loss does not in my estimation exceed 400 men. The Marshal Duke of Belluno is ordered this morning to cross the Tagus, between Villamaurique and Fuente Duenar. He is to attack the enemy in the position he has taken up at Santa Cruz, and pursue in whatever direction he may choose to retreat. He was this morning informed by letter, that the enemy had concentrated his force near Ocana, and ordered to direct his march to that point. As he had to perform a very long march, he could not arrive sufficiently in time to share in the action; nay the King did not receive any intelligence from him the whole of the day, and his Majesty is, therefore, perfectly ignorant of what the Duke of Belluno has been doing. I shall however have to make my further report on this subject as soon as possible.—Please to lay my report before his Imperial Majesty, and to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

Marshal Duke of Dalmatia,
Major-General.

Spain.—*From the Government Gazette extraordinary of Nov. 23.*

Two dispatches have just been received from the General Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga, dated 19th and 20th, in Turleque and Daimiel, both of which arrived at the same time.

In the first he states, that the enemy having attacked our army in the centre and on the flanks at Ocana, but making their principal effort against our right, with a view to turn it, an obstinate resistance was made for three hours, when they were repulsed by the division of the gallant Brigadier Lacey; but the superiority of the enemy's artillery caused a dispersion, which obliged our army to retreat under cover of our vanguard, and 6th division; that our loss is considerable, but the enemy's not less so, as he was repulsed several times by our infantry, and the brisk fire of the artillery.

The Dispatch of the 20th is as follows:

Excellent Seigneur—I arrived here this night, and to morrow I shall proceed to Santa Cruz, where I have directed the infantry should join, and the cavalry of this dispersed army will join in Manzanares, with the exception of a part of the second division, under the command of Brigadier Don Gaspar Bigodet, in order to check the enemy (whose advanced posts have this day reached Madridejos, and of whose main body I know nothing), not to permit his drawing near the Sierra Morena, and to preserve my supplies from La Mancha. Then, should it be possible for me, I will give your Excellency an account of our loss. I can, however, in the mean time, inform your Excellency, that it has been very considerable in good Generals and Officers, which is the best proof that these have distinguished themselves on this occasion with the greatest honour; following the example of the Generals of Divisions, who have given proofs of their skill in their good dispositions, and of their charac-

teristic intrepidity.—God preserve your Excellency. (Signed)

JUAN CARLOS DE AREIZAGA.

Head-quarters, Daimiel, Nov. 20, 1809.

PROCLAMATION OF THE JUNTA, *dated Royal Alcazar of Seville, Nov. 21, 1809.*

Spaniards!—Our enemies announce, as positively certain, a peace in Germany, and the circumstances which accompany this notice give it a character of truth which leaves little room for doubt. They already threaten us with the powerful reinforcements which they suppose to be marching to complete our ruin; already, probably elated with the favourable aspect which their affairs in the North have assumed, they insolently exhort us to submit to the clemency of the Conqueror, and tamely bow our necks to the yoke.—No, servants of Buonaparté! [the Address afterwards continues,] placed as we are by your baseness, between ignominy and death, what choice would you wish a brave nation to make, but to defend itself to the last extremity? Continue to rob, murder, and destroy, as you have done for these twenty months past; increase that incessantly eternal hatred and thirst for vengeance which we must ever feel towards you. Shall we fall at the feet of the crowned slave whom Buonaparté has sent us for a King, because he burns our temples, distributes our virgins and matrons among his odious satellites, and sends our youth as a tribute to the French Minotaur! —Think not, Spaniards, that the Junta addresses you thus to excite your valour by the arts of language—What occasion is there for words, when things speak so plainly for themselves? Your houses are demolished, your temples polluted, your fields ravaged, your families dispersed, or hurried to the grave.—Shall we consent to the total destruction of our holy religion in which we were born, and which we have so solemnly sworn to preserve? Our country is laid waste, and we are insulted, and treated as a vile herd of cattle, which are bought and sold, and slaughtered when our master pleases. Remember, Spaniards, the vile and treacherous manner in which this Usurper tore from us our King.—He called himself his ally, his protector, his friend; he pretended to give him the kiss of peace, but his embraces are the folds of the serpent, which twine round the innocent victim, and drag him to his cavern. Such perfidy is unknown to civilized nations, and scarcely practised among the most barbarous. The Sovereign we idolize is condemned to groan in solitude, surrounded by guards and spies. Amidst his sufferings, he can only silently implore the valour of his beloved Spaniards for liberty or vengeance.—There can be no peace while these things subsist. That Spain may be free, is the universal wish of the nation. That Spain may be free, or that it may become an immense desart, one vast sepulchre, where the accumulated carcasses of French and Spaniards shall exhibit to future ages our glory and their ignominy. But this wretched fate is not to be feared by brave men. Victory, sooner or later, must be the reward of fortitude and constancy. What but these defended the small republics of Greece from the barbarous invasion of Xerxes? What protected the capitol when assailed by the Gauls? What preserved it from the arms of Hannibal? What in more modern times rescued the Swiss from German tyranny, and gave independence to Holland? What, in fine, inspires at present the Tyrolese with such heroic resolution, that, though surrounded on every side by enemies, and abandoned by their protectors, they take refuge in their rocks, and on the summits of their mountains, and hurl defiance and defeat on the battalions of the conqueror of Dantzic. The God of armies, for whom we suffer, will give us success, and conduct us through all the dangers that surround us to the throne of independence. —Spaniards, the Junta announces this to you frankly, that you may not for a moment be ignorant of the danger which threatens your country; it announces it to you, with confidence that you will shew yourselves worthy of the cause which you defend, and of the admiration of the universe.—[The Address goes on to exhort the Spanish nation to submit to every privation, and make every sacrifice to save the State.]—When the storm rages, the most valuable treasures must be thrown into the sea to save the vessel from sinking. —Perish the man whose selfishness can render him wanting in his duty, or induce him to conceal what is necessary to be distributed among his brethren, for the common defence! —

(To be continued.)

LONDON:—Printed by T. C. HANSARD, Peterborough-Court, Fleet-Street;
Published by R. BAGSHAW, Brydges-Street, Covent-Garden:—Sold also by J. BUDD, Pall-Mall.